

Fissures appear in Trump's facade

The president's whims are endangering the party he took over

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NEWPORT, R.I. – If there's a SWAT team standoff adjacent to a train wreck, and an F-4 scale tornado is bearing down on this twisted scene ... what do you watch first? And to whom do you listen?

This is the Trump/Pence White House these days. The guardrails have vanished with Dan Coats and Gen. Mattis. So, too, has a systemic approach to policy questions and crises. The cabinet is dominated by "acting" secretaries.

In the middle of all this is the "extremely stable genius," which is how President Trump refers to himself, and he is leading on whim and gut. Intel report and briefings are irritants. When he made his decision to pull out of Syria and abandon the Kurds, it was



news to the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon.

These past two weeks have been a classic cluster F***. A phone call to a Turkish autocrat two Sundays ago has sent 2 million Kurds fleeing what appears to be an ethnic cleansing campaign. Russian media is declaring President Putin has "won the lottery."

That was the SWAT standoff.

The train wreck was Trump's decision to hold the G7 summit at his Doral golf resort in the flight path of the Miami airport, a choice which soon became consumed in the notion of Trump profits so brazen that it alarmed

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Is Pete poised for top?

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON – Following last Tuesday night's Democratic debate in Ohio, the consensus among pundits was that once again South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg emerged a winner. The Washington Post's Jennifer Rubin, for example, gushed that it was Buttigieg's best debate yet. CNN's Chris Cillizza wrote in including him among his four debate winners (in addition to Bernie Sanders, Amy Klobuchar and Andrew Yang) that the purpose of debates is to draw contrasts and Buttigieg did that very well.

However, a CNN focus group of undecided Democratic Iowa caucus goers believe that Sens. Elizabeth Warren and Amy



"You don't just fall into somebody's dress. I was shocked. I was violated. I was angry. I was afraid."

- State Rep. Mara Candelaria Reardon, describing groping by Attorney General Curtis Hill to the Supreme Court Disciplinary Commission on Monday.



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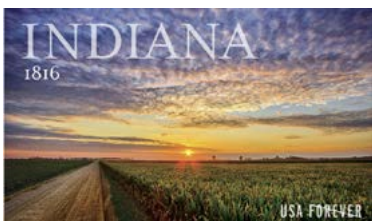
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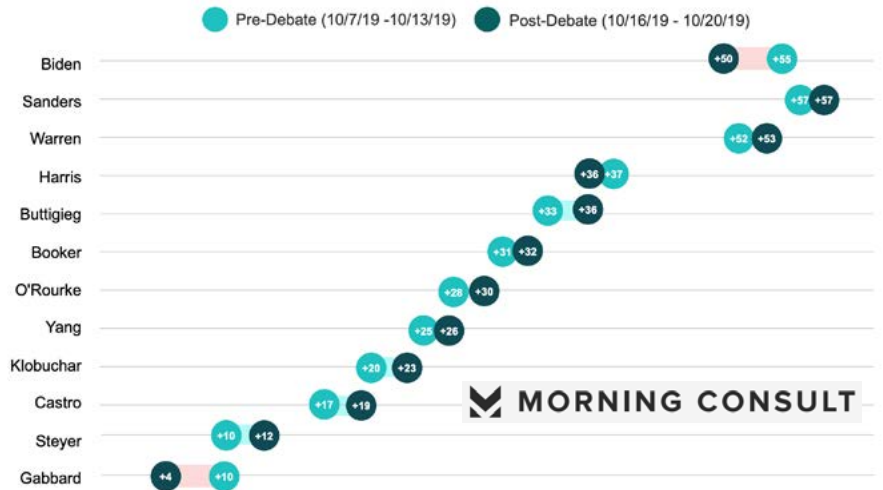
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CANDIDATE NET FAVORABILITY POST DEBATE



Klobuchar won the debate with Cory Booker not far behind. Only one of the focus group members said that former Vice President Joe Biden won the debate. All of them praised Bernie Sanders' performance just two weeks after his heart attack.

No one in the focus group said that Pete Buttigieg won the debate. Is there a disconnect between the punditry and actual voter reaction to Mayor Pete's debate performances? One explanation for the focus group reaction could be that those Iowa focus group voters do not reward candidates who attack other Democrats.

Usually in a multi-candidate primary race, the two hurt by such attacks are the target of the attacks and the candidate delivering the attacks. Kamala Harris took after Biden in the first debate and after a brief rise in the polls now seems stuck in lower single digits with many observers pointing to her tough criticism of Biden as the beginning of her downfall. And, Julian Castro's attacks on Biden in the second debate were roundly criticized.

There is clearly a divide among Democrats in their opinion of Buttigieg's performance. The Washington Post's Aaron Blake put it this way: "Some thought he (Buttigieg) was amazing; others thought he was grating." Blake is likely correct. Reading the comment sections following various articles and columns on the debate, readers tended to either lav-

ish praise on Buttigieg such as "Mayor Pete dominated the debate" or blast him as "arrogant and gratuitously mean-spirited."

Whatever one thinks of Mayor Pete's debate performances, they haven't helped him climb in the national polls. Buttigieg's Real Clear Politics polling average sits at an anemic 5.6%. He hasn't been able to expand his base beyond highly educated white Democrats. Pete has won pundit praise and been provided ample media coverage. Is there something in the way Pete communicates or about his message that rubs some ordinary Democrats the wrong way?

Even assuming Buttigieg's message and approach to communicating it are on target, the South Bend mayor has another problem. He is attacking progressive Elizabeth Warren, but it is Joe Biden who currently stands in the way of him moving to the top. After first straddling both the moderate and progressive lanes, Buttigieg has settled on the moderate position. That means he needs to leapfrog moderate Biden in order to compete in the post-Iowa world with either Sanders or Warren, or both.

Historically, there have been three tickets out of Iowa. One is for the top establishment/moderate candidate, one for the top progressive or outsider candidate, and one for either a fresher version of either establishment or progressive candidates or an out-of-the-box candidate.

Biden currently holds the establishment slot while Warren has emerged as the lead progressive candidate. Although slipping from second place to third behind Warren, Bernie Sanders continues to poll well, a second progressive candidate running strong in a year in which the party tilts left. No other candidates are above 5% in the Real Clear Politics national polling composite.

To be fair, Buttigieg is showing real signs of life in Iowa. A CBS News Iowa poll released on Oct. 13 has him running in fourth place at 14%. And, an Emerson poll released four days later, two days after the debate, shows him in third place with 16% closing in on Biden and Warren. Over the weekend, a Suffolk University/USA TODAY Poll declared it a "three-way race" with Biden at 18%, Warren at 17% and Buttigieg at 13%, prompting pollster David Paleologos of Suffolk to say, "Iowa is unquestionably up for grabs." Buttigieg "has found a lane and is accelerating toward the front of the pack, surpassing Bernie Sanders. All of this is happening while the number of undecided voters continues to grow as Democratic caucusgoers pause to reevaluate the changing field." The number of caucusgoers who say they are undecided has spiked 8 points since June to 29%. Among those who have a preferred candidate, nearly two-thirds (63%) say they might change their minds before the caucuses.

In addition, Mayor Pete's Iowa organization is said to be nearly equal to Warren's, considered the best. But even in Iowa organization only gets you so far. Buttigieg

needs his message to fully catch on and for Biden to slip farther than he has to date. But he clearly is showing movement in Iowa if not nationally.

Buttigieg's resources might allow him to finish below Biden, Warren, and Sanders in Iowa and still continue until one of those three drops out. Biden's FEC report posted a few hours after Tuesday's debate shows him bleeding cash with only \$8.9 million on hand compared to \$33.5 million for Sanders, \$25.7 million for Warren and \$23.3 million for Buttigieg.

Biden is running an old-fashioned high-end campaign and it is putting his viability in jeopardy. The main reason presidential campaigns fold is lack of funds. At his current rate of raising and spending money, Biden could be broke by Iowa and Buttigieg would be the likely beneficiary.

In the meantime, Pete Buttigieg seems to be playing the role of the Paul Tsongas of the 2020 campaign – a liberal on social issues while bucking the party's prevailing populist and progressive approaches to the economy and health care.

"I'm a realist and I've got no problems saying no to some of the Democratic dogmas," Tsongas said as he battled Bill Clinton for the nomination back in 1992.

Buttigieg could say the same today. ❖

Sautter is a Democratic consultant based in Washington.

Trump fissures, from page 1

congressional Republicans.

The tornado is the looming impeachment, with Trump insisting there was no "quid pro quo" with his talks with Ukraine President Zelensky, only to be contradicted by Acting Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney last Thursday during a bizarre press conference. He then tried to backtrack a couple of hours later, but as with other chapters of the Trump reality show, the video doesn't lie. Mulvaney then told us to "get over it."

In the Oct. 14 HPI Daily Wire, these were the headlines: "Trump's called bluff kicked off Kurd fiasco" ... "Abandoned Kurds cut deal with Assad" ... "Sec. Esper defends Syrian pullout" ... "Esper confirms larger Syrian U.S. pullout" ... "Mattis says ISIS will resurge after betrayal" ... "Rep. Kinsinger says U.S. could have prevented Turkish assault" ... "Trump readies Turkey sanctions" ... "Green Berets 'ashamed' of Kurd betrayal."

Through this carnage, there were Hoosiers ready to double down.

Politico reported that Second Lady Karen Pence, who avoided the 2016 campaign trail due to Trump's



shoddy treatment of women, is preparing to step up for the Trump/Pence reelection: "When Trump began asking friends this summer for their thoughts about Vice President Mike Pence, the second lady decided it was time to step up. Fearful that the president might boot her husband – who has long had his eye on the 2024 presidential race – from his reelection ticket, she became eager to assist the campaign as a loyal surrogate. The second lady's sudden transformation, her participation in Trump campaign events and her gushing praise of the president stem from a desire to protect her husband's political future and fiercely defend him in an election contest that seems to get uglier by the day."

And there was U.S. Sen. Mike Braun, who owes his 2016 upset over Sen. Joe Donnelly to Trump's powerful standing in Indiana. Politico reported that as President Trump intensely monitors the Senate Republican caucus Braun called Trump on Oct. 11. "I just felt he needed to hear that Indiana is a state that's grown more conservative and would epitomize a cross-section of conservatives in the country," Braun said. "And they are behind him wholeheartedly."

Trump is monitoring comments from his GOP col-

leagues, Braun said, but added that Trump didn't seem worried about a GOP mutiny over the rapidly unfolding Ukraine scandal: "I sense a feeling of confidence," Braun said.

While Trump has faced a barrage of criticism for his betrayal of the Kurds, Braun is backing the president, citing the economics in lieu of the humanitarian aspects. "I am going to be in the camp that I think we need to be less engaged to the extent than we have been in the past," Braun told the Terre Haute Tribune-Star. "When President Trump said, 'Hey, our allies shoulder more of the burden,' help pay for stuff, help be responsible. It doesn't mean we don't do things smartly and we don't lead. I think we can do both of them. On one side of the aisle almost in its entirety, and a good part of the Republican side, doesn't put into perspective how much things cost. I don't think we can be the policeman of the world. We should lead, but we should do it in a way that is sustainable."

But there are cracks and fissures in the Republican facade, even here in Indiana.

U.S. Sen. Todd Young, a former Marine intelligence officer, told WIBC that Trump had set a "very bad precedent" in his abandonment of allies like the Kurds. Young called Trump's decision for the U.S. to leave Syria "imprudent." He authored a Senate resolution condemning the Syrian pullout.

Late last week, four House Republicans – Reps. Larry Bucshon, Susan Brooks, Jim Banks and Jackie Walorski – sided with Democrat Reps. Andre Carson and Pete Visclosky, in a House resolution condemning the Syrian pullout while demanding Trump outline a plan to defeat ISIS.

Banks told National Public Radio, "I see it less as a rebuke of the administration and more as a voice of support of our maintained efforts in Syria as we combat the threat of ISIS and to stand with our Kurdish allies."

Since Trump's double-cross, the Syrian Democratic Forces have begun to fight for their survival, cut a deal with Syrian despot Assad, and are no longer tending to the more than 10,000 ISIS terrorists in their custody.

While the current conventional wisdom is that the House will vote to impeach, but the Senate will never convict, that assessment may be premature.

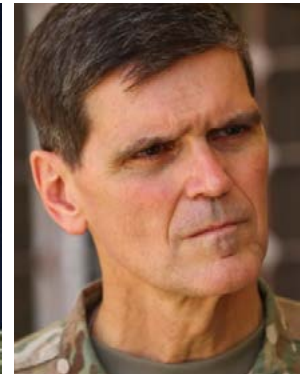
Late last week, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell lobbed a warning shot across Trump's bow, writing in a Washington Post op-ed, that the Syrian pullout was a "grave strategic mistake." McConnell, who has the pulse of his caucus, explained, "We saw humanitarian disaster and a terrorist free-for-all after we abandoned Afghanistan in the 1990s, laying the groundwork for 9/11. We saw the Islamic State flourish in Iraq after President Barack Obama's retreat. We will see these things anew in Syria and Afghanistan if we abandon our partners and retreat from these conflicts before they are won. America's wars will be 'endless' only if America refuses to win them."

Over the weekend, Republican U.S. Sens. Mitt

Romney and Lindsey Graham both said they would carefully weigh an impeachment conviction of Trump. Graham told Axios, "If you could show me that, you know, Trump actually was engaging in a quid pro quo, outside the phone call, that would be very disturbing. I've read the transcript of the Ukrainian phone call. That's not a quid pro quo to me." But testimony is just over the horizon from intelligence and State Department officials.

Romney told Axios he is open to voting to convict Trump. He called Trump's pleas for China and Ukraine to investigate the Bidens "wrong and appalling," adding, "It was shocking, in my opinion, for the president to do so – and a mistake for him to do. I can't imagine coming to a different point of view."

Perhaps more revealing are the fissures in the U.S. military. Trump had wide support throughout the ranks of the military and he stocked his original cabinet with generals like John Kelly and Jim Mattis, who stepped down almost a year ago in a dispute with Trump over his Syrian policy. By last week, Trump disparaged former Defense Secretary Mattis, calling him "the world's most overrated general."



Admiral William McRaven (left) and Gen. Joseph Votel have both publicly expressed their concerns about President Trump's abrupt Syrian pullout and betrayal of the Kurds.

"I'm honored to be considered that by Donald Trump because he also called Meryl Streep an overrated actress," Mattis joked Thursday night at the annual Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner. "So I guess I'm the Meryl Streep of generals and frankly that sounds pretty good to me. And you do have to admit between me and Meryl, at least we've had some victories." Mattis then took a jab at Trump's five Vietnam War era military deferments. "I earned my spurs on the battlefield ... and Donald Trump earned his spurs in a letter from a doctor," Mattis said.

U.S. Army Gen. Joseph Votel, who served as commander of U.S. forces in the Middle East, was alarmed by the Syrian pullout and fiasco. "Over four years, the SDF freed tens of thousands of square miles and millions of people from the grip of ISIS. Throughout the fight, it sustained nearly 11,000 casualties," Votel said. "By comparison, six U.S. service members, as well as two civilians, have been killed in the anti-ISIS campaign."

But the most compelling commentary came from

Polling Data						
Poll	Date	Sample	Yes/Remove	No	Spread	
RCP Average	10/1 - 10/15	--	49.0	45.1	Yes/Remove +3.9	
Economist/YouGov	10/13 - 10/15	1136 RV	53	40	Yes/Remove +13	
Politico/Morning Consult	10/11 - 10/13	1993 RV	51	41	Yes/Remove +10	
Quinnipiac	10/11 - 10/13	1195 RV	46	48	No +2	
FOX News	10/6 - 10/8	1003 RV	51	43	Yes/Remove +8	
Gallup	10/1 - 10/13	1526 A	52	46	Yes/Remove +6	
NPR/PBS/Marist	10/3 - 10/8	926 RV	47	49	No +2	
NBC News/Wall St. Jrnl	10/4 - 10/6	800 A	43	49	No +6	

Adm. William McRaven in a New York Times op-ed titled, ["Our Republic Is Under Attack From the President: If President Trump doesn't demonstrate the leadership that America needs, then it is time for a new person in the Oval Office."](#)

McRaven, who orchestrated the assault to capture Osama bin Laden, noted that he had attended recent two military events and found alarm in the ranks. "As I stood on the parade field at Fort Bragg, one retired four-star general grabbed my arm, shook me and shouted, 'I don't like the Democrats, but Trump is destroying the Republic!'"

McRaven went on to say, "If we don't care about our values, if we don't care about duty and honor, if we don't help the weak and stand up against oppression and injustice – what will happen to the Kurds, the Iraqis, the Afghans, the Syrians, the Rohingyas, the South Sudanese and the millions of people under the boot of tyranny or left abandoned by their failing states? If our promises are meaningless, how will our allies ever trust us? If we can't have faith in our nation's principles, why would the men and women of this nation join the military? And if they don't join, who will protect us? If we are not the champions of the good and the right, then who will follow us? And if no one follows us – where will the world end up?"

"President Trump seems to believe that these qualities are unimportant or show weakness," said McRaven, "He is wrong."

In conservative media, there are also cracks. The Drudge Report has been posting many articles critical of Trump as well as the emerging Ukraine scandal. Shepard Smith has left Fox News, while legal analyst Judge Andrew Napolitano has stated and written in several instances that Trump has committed impeachable offenses.

Wall Street Journal columnist Peggy Noonan observed, "Things are more fluid than they seem. That's my impression of Washington right now. There's something quiet going on, a mood shift."

She cites three elements: "First, the president, confident of acquittal, has chosen this moment to let his inner crazy flourish daily and dramatically — the fights and meltdowns, the insults, the Erdogan letter. Just when the president needs to be enacting a certain stability he enacts its opposite. The second is that the Republican leader of the Senate, Mitch McConnell, told his caucus this week

to be prepared for a trial that will go six days a week and could last six to eight weeks. 'There is a mood change in terms of how much they can tolerate,' said a former high Senate staffer. Senators never know day to day how bad things will get. The third reason is the number of foreign-policy professionals who are not ducking testimony in the House but plan to testify or have already. Suppressed opposition to President Trump among foreign-service officers and others is busting out. The president is daily eroding his position."

Washington Post columnist George Will wrote on Oct. 9, "Trump's gross and comprehensive incompetence now increasingly impinges upon the core presidential responsibility. This should, but will not, cause congressional Republicans to value their own and their institution's dignity and exercise its powers more vigorously than they profess fealty to Trump. He has issued a categorical refusal to supply witnesses and documents pertinent to the House investigation of whether he committed an impeachable offense regarding Ukraine. This refusal, which is analogous to an invocation of the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination, justifies an inference of guilt. Worse, this refusal attacks our constitutional regime. So, the refusal is itself an impeachable offense."

"The Trump administration's decision to ignore congressional subpoenas is creating the constitutional crisis many feared," Will continued. "If Trump gets away with his blanket noncompliance, the Constitution's impeachment provision, as it concerns presidents, will be effectively repealed, and future presidential corruption will be largely immunized against punishment."

For many, it begs the question with many Americans: If Trump administration officials ignore congressional subpoenas, and there are not consequences, why should any of the rest of us cooperate? If such defiance continues and is rejected in the courts, could we find the three branches of federal government in a crisis showdown?

On Fox News Sunday, host Chris Wallace said a "well-connected" Washington Republican told him that there's a 20% chance enough Republicans will vote to remove the president from office in an impeachment trial in the Senate.

Our Capitol Hill sources describe Hoosier members as monitoring polls, their fingers in the air. A polling col-

lapse could precede the fall of the Trump presidency.

There could be external pressures that come to bear, like the [Wall Street Journal video](#) released Monday showing the indicted Rudy Giuliani crony Lev Parnas posting Instagram photos from a 2018 Indiana GOP event in Warren County of all places.

As we've analyzed before, there was never wide support for President Clinton's impeachment in 1999. In 1974, congressional Republicans jettisoned President Nixon following the "smoking gun" transcript. Current polling on President Trump's impeachment has now reached 49% supporting and 45.1% against in the Real Clear Politics composite. Several have it over 50% including Economist/YouGov (53%), Politico Morning Consult (51%), Fox News (51%) and Gallup (52%). A CNN Poll this morning had it at 50%, including 50% of independents, but among Republicans, just 6% say they support impeaching and removing Trump, lower than the 14% who said so in a September CNN poll.

No matter how you parse it, this is a multi-headed



spectacle, almost entirely of President Trump's own making, with the sycophants and C-Team actors aiding and abetting a mess like we've never witnessed. It is hard to keep eyes trained on just one element of this debacle.

At some point, Republicans will likely be faced with support for President Trump's Titanic, the implications of his survival (he called it a "lynching" this morning) and what a second Trump administration could act like, and the notion that a "President Pence" might look like a rational safe harbor in this gnarly whirlwind, assuming he's not facing legal fallout himself. ❖

Trump through the internationalist lens

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NEWPORT, R.I. — When it comes to America's engagement in what is increasingly globalized marketplace and security, a number of Hoosier statesmen set the compass points for many of us over the past generation.

There was the late Sen. Richard Lugar, who in tandem with Democrat Sen. Sam Nunn, established a historic cooperative threat reduction program and helped denuclearize a half dozen nations (including Ukraine), while rounding up and stabilizing a Pandora's box of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons guarded by padlocks and chain link fences as the Soviet Union crumbled.



Congressmen Lee Hamilton and Tim Roemer helped establish the post-Sept. 11 security regime and Hamilton

served on the Iraq Study Committee following the first American geopolitical blunder of the 21st Century with the Iraq invasion of 2003. The late Rep. Frank McCloskey literally saved tens of thousands of Bosnians from genocidal

Serbs in the first ethnic cleansing of this century. Gov. Robert Orr opened up the Pacific rim to investment in our state in the 1980s, and there are now 200 Japanese companies employing more than 100,000 Hoosiers, and, according to Gov. Eric Holcomb, firms from India, South Korea and China are poised to join their ranks.

These men were engaged in our world. They had strategic wisdom, wide peripheral vision, and as Gov. Holcomb told me last week after he returned from India, "Our partners realize, just like we do, that trade is not one-way. It's a two-way street, particularly when you're looking to address mutual needs, but explore mutual opportunities with each other. Rule No. 1, like in life, is show up."

So it was within this context that I watched in horror what occurred with a simple phone call on Sunday Oct. 6 between President Trump and Turkey President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Without prior knowledge of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon, or Secretary of State Mike Pompeo or Vice President Mike Pence, Trump essentially gave the green light for a U.S. pullout of Syria and a Turkish invasion against our ally. It was an epic double cross of the Syria Democratic Forces (SDF) made up mostly of Kurds.

There's a reason over the past several years that Hoosier families haven't been burying our young men and women soldiers, and why the Hoosier Patriot Guard hasn't had to activate during funerals. Some 11,000 Kurdish men and women laid down their lives to defeat the Islamic State, or ISIS, doing this vicious work for us. It was the ISIS thugs that killed Peter Edward (Abdul-Rahman) Kassig

after he was kidnapped during his humanitarian mission in Syria. These were the terrorists who decapitated their victims as they rolled propaganda video.

The Jerusalem Post observed: "Never before in history has the U.S. worked with a group and then opened the skies to have another U.S. ally bomb and destroy it. Like thieves in the night, U.S. forces withdrew from their positions without explanation, processes, discussions."

Here's how President Trump explained things on Wednesday: "It's not our problem. They've got a lot of sand over there ... There's a lot of sand they can play with." He added in an early morning tweet: "Anyone who wants to assist Syria in protecting the Kurds is good with me, whether it is Russia, China, or Napoleon Bonaparte. I hope they all do great, we are 7,000 miles away!"

But it is our problem. Because the Kurds had been guarding more than 10,000 ISIS terrorists. Now, the Kurds are realigning with the war criminal Assad of Syria. The Russians have moved into the void left by the U.S., and Turkish forces and Arab militias are now committing atrocities against Kurdish forces and families. This is the new ethnic cleansing of this century.

Trump's take on the escaping ISIS terrorists? "Well

they are going to be escaping to Europe, that's where they want to go. They want to go back to their homes."

We later learned that Trump sent a sophomoric letter to Erdogan on Oct. 9, the day the Turkish invasion began, in which Trump said on White House letterhead: "Let's work out a good deal! You don't want to be responsible for slaughtering thousands of people, and I don't want to be responsible for destroying the Turkish economy — and I will." Erdogan threw this letter in the trash.

Folks, there are so many things wrong with this picture. I know many of you voted for Donald Trump to shake things up. But there's a difference between a power realignment in Washington and smashing the world order for no good reason. Our legacy of Hoosier internationalists understood the vital interconnectiveness of our evolving world.

It is hard not to come to this conclusion:

President Trump has neither the strategic vision, wisdom, nor the temperament to be commander-in-chief. For those of you who find it convenient to look the other way or view it through strictly a political context, your day of reckoning will only be delayed. ❖

Hale opens up big money advantage; McDermott mulls Visclosky challenge

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Two congressional primary showdowns are beginning to take shape, with Democrat Christina Hale posting a big money lead in the 5th CD. A second potential race is shaping up in the 1st CD

with U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky pulling documents from the administration of Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.

According to third quarter FEC filings, Hoosiers For Hale posted \$326,367,

disbursed \$73,690 and had \$252,677 cash on hand. The 2018 nominee Dee Thornton posted \$49,415 for the quarter, had \$22,565 in disbursements, and had \$50,576 cash on hand. Two other 5th CD candidates also posted filings. Andy Jacobs reported \$3,500 in receipts and cash on hand, while Jennifer Christie posted \$6,246 in receipts and had \$5,253 cash.

On the Republican side, Indiana Treasurer Kelly Mitchell posted \$101,051, made \$5,771 in disbursements

and closed with \$96,879 cash on hand. Noblesville pastor Micah Beckwith posted \$75,780 in receipts, had \$32,576 in disbursements and had \$50,087 cash. Steve Braun, who announced for the GOP race, then suspended his campaign citing health reasons, did not have a 5th CD filing. His 2018 termination report in the 4th CD had him making \$317,799 in disbursements to himself with no cash on hand. Kent Abernathy has filed an FEC committee, but did not make a third quarter posting.

Atlanta businesswoman Beth Henderson also entered the race. "As a nurse, businesswoman, wife, and mother who has lived in Indiana's 5th District for 30 years, I am prepared to take my real world business experience, first-hand knowledge of our healthcare system and

my conservative values to serve our state in Congress," Henderson said. "I've had countless conversations with fellow Hoosiers since I began considering running in this race. The main question I've gotten from folks is, 'Why would you want to do this?' For me, the answer is simple: I have a heart for Indiana, and truly care about our district and the people in it. I believe that we are all in this together, and my desire is to be a voice in Washington sticking up for the values and principles that have made



the American people the most prosperous in the history of the world. I'm not a career politician now, and I never will be."



In the 2nd CD, U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski posted \$145,341 for the third quarter, had \$158,249 in disbursements, and had \$604,186 cash on hand. Democrat Pat Hackett posted \$110,665 for the quarter, disbursed \$30,621, and had \$81,331 cash.

In the first CD, Visclosky posted \$149,248 for the quarter, spent \$128,018 and had \$514,851 cash on hand. Mayor McDermott has not opened up a federal committee. But the Times of Northwest Indiana's Dan Carden reported that the Visclosky campaign has made a public records request covering much of McDermott's 15 years in office.



According to the Times, an additional request for McDermott campaign finance records separately was submitted to the Lake County Board of Elections and Voter Registration, according to Michelle Fajman, director of the voter registration office. McDermott told the Times that the requests were delivered to Hammond City Hall by Visclosky Campaign Director Cindy Wagner, also known as

Cindy Lopez, in a white envelope prominently featuring the Visclosky campaign logo. The person officially requesting the documents is Hayley Rumbach, of South Portland, Maine, whose political consulting firm was paid \$5,750 by Visclosky's campaign on March 31 for a "research project," according to federal campaign finance records. In response to inquiries by The Times, Visclosky said: "I appreciate the mayor's prompt and thorough attention to this normal request, which was sent via certified mail on Oct. 11, 2019, and also hand-delivered by my campaign director this morning."

McDermott, who had told HPI he was pondering a challenge to Visclosky, then hosted a conspicuous hospitality party at the IDEA Convention in French Lick last August, told the Times, "I wonder if Congressman Pete treats all of his mayors that way, or if I'm just special? I have a great relationship with almost every elected official in Northwest Indiana, Republican and Democrat. I've made it a priority of mine to have a good relationship with all of the elected officials, and the only one that I really haven't gotten a chance to know in the 15 years I've been mayor is Pete Visclosky. For some reason he wants nothing to do with me or my city."

That is a fascinating assertion: The mayor of the





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biggest city in the CD and a former Lake County Democratic chairman has never had a working relationship with the congressman.

Last month, Visclosky announced he was backing the House impeachment inquiry, while McDermott came out favoring a censure of President Trump. "If I don't think the congressman is doing something that's in the best interests of the Region, I'm going to say it, out loud," McDermott told the Times. "And if that means I get (open records) requests filed against me by my congressman, then so be it. But it is definitely intimidation."

Visclosky won the 1st CD in 1984, defeating U.S. Rep. Katie Hall and Jack Crawford in the Democratic primary. Visclosky fended off two more primary challenges from Hall in 1986 and 1990. He has never drawn less than 71% in any subsequent Democratic primary.

Governor

A three-way Democratic race

State Sen. Eddie Melton entered the Democratic primary, joining Dr. Woody Myers and 34-year-old businessman Josh Owens. But to put this in perspective, Melton, Myers and Owens probably couldn't muster a combined 5% in name ID if there was a current poll.

An innocuous announcement by Gov. Eric Holcomb's reelection campaign accentuates the challenge all three face. Holcomb has filed the necessary 500 signatures in Indiana's nine congressional districts to qualify for the ballot. For the three Democratic campaigns, this could pose a significant early hurdle.

The Democrats face a Holcomb reelect that posted more than \$7 million in the last filing. Myers and Owens appear to have access to personal wealth, though Myers is on record saying he will fund a traditional campaign. Melton's last Senate finance posting showed him with an ending balance of \$7,385.

Melton is a first-term senator from Gary. He conducted a series of education town halls with Republican Supt. Jennifer McCormick over the summer, though they did not draw significant media coverage. The biggest curiosity about the Melton campaign is the potential for a bipartisan ticket, which neither the senator or superintendent would disavow. "All options are on the table ... I'm not ruling anything out," Melton said. McCormick made a similar statement to the Statehouse File earlier this month.

"Most folks feel that state government is not paying them any attention, is not focused on the issues that matter to them the most," Melton told the NWI Times. "We

have to prioritize these issues. These have to be issues that are at the top of our agenda as a state."

As for his town hall tour, Melton said, "This is not something that I'm making up. This is a vision that I'm taking from the people directly. This is not about me. This is about the greater good of all Hoosiers." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Myers.

Mayors

Portage: Times endorses Cannon

The NWI Times endorsed Portage Mayor John Cannon for election. "Portage has suffered both documented and untold damage from the previous mayor's criminal betrayal of public trust. The effect of former Mayor James Snyder's conviction on federal bribery and tax charges has left a haze of uncertainty in the city that can be hard to see through. Now, Portage voters have the important task of looking through that haze and considering the directions in which two candidates might take the city if elected mayor on Nov. 5. Uncertainties still exist, but we endorse Cannon, who has inherited a difficult task and seems willing to roll up his sleeves and move forward."

Democratic nominee Sue Lynch said residents received a mail piece paid for by "Hoosiers for Accountability" which distorts the candidate's record and provides false information to Portage residents. The mailer claims that Lynch "wants to charge citizens a 9-1-1 fee that would cost hundreds of dollars for calling police and ambulance", which is a complete distortion of a previous ordinance the candidate voted for. "I have voted for an ordinance that would charge a fee on businesses that continually use our police force as private security at the expense of the taxpayers," Lynch said. "I have never supported an ordinance that would charge residents, or businesses, a fee anytime they call 911. As mayor, this will never be a policy that I support." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Cannon.

Kokomo: Smith outraises Moore

Campaign finance documents show Democratic mayoral candidate Abbie Smith has outraised Republican Tyler Moore by more than \$70,000 so far this year, a discrepancy made up largely from an enormous contribution given by Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight's campaign committee (Myers, Kokomo Tribune). The documents, turned in Friday to the Howard County clerk's office, show that Smith raised \$203,645 through Oct. 11, compared to Moore's \$132,966. That fundraising difference has allowed Smith to spend more than Moore during this reporting period as well. "I am incredibly grateful and proud to report that 363 donors have contributed \$203,645.99 to my campaign for mayor," said Smith in a media release. "I am humbled by the amount of support you, the people of Kokomo, have given to the campaign – both financially and by volunteering your time." Creating that difference was a \$55,000 contribution given to Smith on May 31 by



Goodnight's own political committee, Citizens to Elect Greg Goodnight. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Moore.

Fort Wayne: Smith addresses Rotary

Republican mayoral candidate Tim Smith says Mayor Tom Henry's administrations have racked up too much long-term debt. Speaking at a Monday meeting of the Fort Wayne Rotary Club, often called the Downtown Rotary Club, Smith said long-term debt is up 233% from 2008, when Henry took office as mayor (Rodriguez, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The remarks came as the first part of a two-act political drama taking place at the club's meetings this month. Members are scheduled to hear from Henry next Monday. An insurance executive for MedPro Group in Fort Wayne, Smith said city officials hadn't planned well enough to avoid debt. He said the city borrowed millions to ensure separation of wastewater from stormwater as required by the federal government in the project often called "The Big Dig." Smith said he would have attacked the problem sooner by setting aside money during the 25 years since it was first brought to light. "We wouldn't be in the position we are now if we had addressed it then," he said. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Henry.

Elkhart: Miller outraises Roberson

Republican candidate for Elkhart mayor Dave Miller raised 41% more money than Democrat Rod Roberson from April 12 through Oct. 18, according to campaign finance reports (Elkhart Truth). Miller raised \$124,595 in that time, increasing his total for the year to \$135,705. Roberson raised \$88,136 in the same period, reaching \$129,020 for the year.

South Bend: Tribune endorses Mueller

The South Bend Tribune endorsed James Mueller for mayor: "Mueller acknowledges that he "inherits the good and the bad" of his work with Buttigieg, who endorsed him. He told primary voters that he would continue the work of the Buttigieg administration. His message to general election voters is that he's also his own man and that he has learned from any missteps of the last eight years." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Mueller.

Indianapolis: Hogsett has big money lead

Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett has spent \$4.6 million on his re-election campaign, about \$4 million more than his opponent, Republican state Sen. Jim Merritt.

Hogsett and Merritt spoke on a variety of topics at Arsenal Tech High School downtown. Both candidates touched on Indy's growing problem with violence, especially when it comes to how many homicide victims are African-American (WIBC). "Community violence is job number one for the Mayor of Indianapolis. It's almost like we have an epidemic of murder," said Merritt. "We need to create an Indianapolis commission on the social status of African-American males. It's been successful on the state

level." Merritt also pushed again for the re-creation of the position of Public Safety Director as well as the installation of Bill Benjamin as chief of police. Merritt also pointed to his recent experiences of not seeing "a single police officer" in the Mile Square area downtown near where a teenager was shot just last weekend. "Senator I simply say that on Mile Square on an evening you described, there are at least 40 officers in that area at any particular time, so you're just not looking in the right places," Hogsett responded. "Homicides have gone up, unfortunately, every year in Indianapolis since 2012, but it's not simply something that started happening three years ago," he added. "Overall, we have seen violent crime reduced in Marion County in 2018 and thus far in 2019."


Presidential 2020

2016 media trends continue into 2020

The same media trends that led to President Trump's unexpected victory in 2016 are growing even stronger leading up to 2020, Axios' Sara Fischer writes. Even amid a historic impeachment process, these patterns suggest Trump could have a significant media advantage over Democrats in 2020 — though there's no guarantee that the result will be the same. The online realities: Democrats haven't made a digital comeback, despite vowing to match the sophistication of Republicans after 2016. As Axios has been reporting since March, the Trump campaign continues to outspend all of its Democratic challengers combined on digital advertising. Some aspects of the Democratic Party are still entrenched in a legacy media culture. There's long been a complaint among progressive activists about Democrats' reliance on outside consultants who are biased towards television and traditional media. Media companies have become even more polarizing. More partisan outlets are launching to take advantage of the climate. State-backed misinformation campaigns are still rampant, and more nations seem to be getting involved this time around. Facebook said yesterday that it found new misinformation efforts from groups linked to Iran and Russia. ❖

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YOUR FRIENDS ALL HANG OUT HERE... DO YOU?

Buttigieg presents a realistic picture

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Mayor Pete Buttigieg is winning high grades from news media analysts for his debate performance last week, primarily for strong articulation of workable approaches to health care, gun controls and use of military abroad. He clashed, however, with other



candidates with more aggressive approaches, such as the call of Sen. Elizabeth Warren, emerging frontrunner, on “Medicare for All.” Mayor Pete supports instead “Medicare for All Who Want It,” allowing those preferring to stick with their private health insurance plans to do so.

He is running for the Democratic nomination in a more moderate lane than the “revolution” lane of Sen. Bernie Sanders, who is accompanied in that most progressive lane by Warren. Clearly, the time had come for Buttigieg to get combative in debate to stake out differences and edge closer to the top tier, former Vice President Joe Biden, Warren and Sanders.

Tricky to do. Could he be more combative without destroying his favorable image of being thoughtful, reasonable and intellectual?

He seems to have done it. A New York Times analysis was: “Buttigieg’s biggest night yet.” And he was the candidate featured on the front page of the Times on Thursday in a story about his military service in Afghanistan. The Boston Globe graded his performance as an “A.” On “Morning Joe,” the MSNBC program influential with Democratic viewers, Joe Scarborough said he wouldn’t be surprised if Buttigieg won in Iowa.

None of this means that Buttigieg is poised to win the nomination. He remains a long shot, but not nearly as long a shot as before. He will remain in the race at least through all the early primaries. If Biden fades in the future, could Buttigieg become the top contender in the more moderate lane, appealing to Middle America? Maybe.

Focus rightly was on Buttigieg’s stands on allowing retention of private health care plans, opposition

to confiscation of assault rifles already in private homes and that ending long-time involvement in wars doesn’t mean withdrawing all military from every area of national concern. But his most significant statement was in talking about what happens after the Trump presidency ends “one way or the other.”

Said Buttigieg: “I want you to picture what it’s going to be like, what it’s actually going to feel like in this country the first day the sun comes up after Donald Trump has been president. It starts out feeling like a happy thought: This particular brand of chaos and corruption will be over.

“**But really think about** where we’ll be: Vulnerable, even more torn apart by politics than we are right now. And these big issues from the economy to climate change have not taken a vacation during the impeachment process.”

Thus, he said, a new president will face a task of unifying “a dangerously polarized country while tackling those issues

that are going to be just as urgent then as they are now.”

Indeed. If a Democrat is elected president in 2020, it will be at one of the most difficult times in the nation’s history. What could be done?



One of Warren’s promises was: “In Congress, on the first day, I will pass my anti-corruption bill, which will beat back the influence of money.” No. She wouldn’t. Couldn’t. A president doesn’t pass a bill. Congress does. And if Republicans retain control of the Senate, now quite likely, or at least have the strength to block action, a Democratic president isn’t likely to get much passed on any day.

Even if Democrats somehow controlled both chambers, getting an ambitious proposal passed still would be difficult. Look at the long struggle and compromises needed to win passage of Obamacare at a time of Democratic control.

Buttigieg presents a realistic picture rather than one of rosy promises of unrealistic big change on day one.❖

Colwell has covered Indiana politics over five decades for the South Bend Tribune.

Polling Data

Poll	Date	Biden	Warren	Buttigieg	Sanders	Harris	Steyer	Gabbard	Klobuchar	Yang	Booker	Bullock	O'Rourke	Bennet	Spread
RCP Average	10/3 - 10/18	21.0	20.7	14.3	14.3	3.3	2.7	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.3	1.0	0.7	Biden +0.3
USA Today/Suffolk	10/16 - 10/18	18	17	13	9	3	3	3	3	1	1	0	1	0	Biden +1
Emerson	10/13 - 10/16	23	23	16	13	2	2	2	1	5	3	4	0	1	Tie
CBS News/YouGov	10/3 - 10/11	22	22	14	21	5	3	1	2	0	2	0	2	1	Tie

When Teddy Roosevelt survived a shooting

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO — When Democrat presidential candidate Bernie Sanders canceled appearances and left the campaign trail last week because of a heart ailment, I was moved to reach down into the old bag of amazing but true historical incidents to find a relative parallel. I didn't have



to look too far. Normally, when I want to be dazzled by presidential heroics, I usually turn to either Theodore Roosevelt or Andrew Jackson for my fodder.

I had Mr. Peabody turn back the time machine to Oct. 14, 1912, to the final month of the heated presidential election between Democrat Woodrow Wilson, Republican William Howard Taft, and former president and Bull Moose Party candidate Theodore Roosevelt.

Roosevelt had served out the term of office of assassinated President William McKinley and had then been elected to a term on his own. During his time in office Roosevelt had been a hurricane of activity on just about every front imaginable. He combined his vision with enormous energy and a remarkable capacity for salesmanship. His willingness to bring the United States to the forefront of world leadership, at the same time as he assaulted many of the egregious excesses of American capitalism, rankled opponents of all stripes.

It is difficult to make a brief recitation of the accomplishments of the Theodore Roosevelt presidency. In foreign affairs, Roosevelt doubled our nation's naval power and projected that power around the globe. He expanded the army and restructured it from top to bottom. He fought vigorously to uphold the Monroe Doctrine. He was prescient enough to identify both Japan and Germany as the greatest threats to world peace and focused both our military and diplomatic efforts toward countering those threats. Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize for mediating an end to the Russo-Japanese war. This was back when they awarded the Nobel after a president accomplished something.

Roosevelt pursued closer relations with Great Britain, which allowed the British Navy to focus on the German threat, and began construction of the Panama Canal, an engineering marvel that both expanded international trade and facilitated the movement of our navy from ocean

to ocean.

On the home front Roosevelt was a progressive reformer. He aggressively attacked monopolies and trusts, making many enemies among the economically powerful. He facilitated passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act to regulate food safety. He increased the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission. He interceded to negotiate an end to the great Coal Strike of 1902. He launched the conservation movement and greatly expanded the system of national parks and national forests. He appointed three Supreme Court justices.

When Roosevelt completed his second term of office, he eschewed running for a third term and ended his service as a very popular president with the American people. His reform of big business and his pursuit of manifest destiny rankled many on the right and left of American politics, but John Q. Public loved the man.

Roosevelt spent his time after leaving office on a whirlwind tour of the world, with adventures and expeditions galore. The travels and safaris eventually became mundane for the ex-president and he found himself, once again, longing for the thrill of the political arena.

Roosevelt's problem in 1912, after he had decided to run for president again, was that the Republican Party already had a candidate in mind. William H. Taft was serving ably as president and was less toxic to the big business interests and Brahmins of the Republican Party. Undeterred, Roosevelt forged ahead and challenged Taft for the Republican nomination. The battle was so fierce that convention organizers had to wrap barbed wire around the podium, concealed by patriotic bunting. Roosevelt lost his



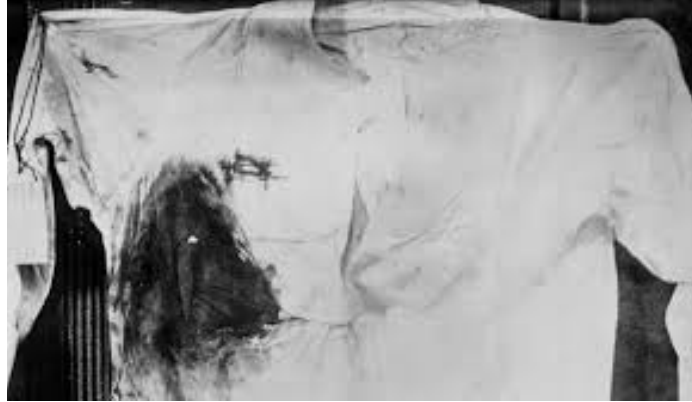
quest to be the Republican standard bearer and promptly went rogue and announced the formation of a Progressive Party, quickly nicknamed the Bull Moose Party. Roosevelt was branded by political opponents and much of the press as a power-hungry traitor who callously disregarded the tradition of two-term presidencies. Each of Roosevelt's political speeches was dogged by protesters and agitators sent by either Republican or Democrat interests to disrupt the proceedings.

During his final sprint to the finish line, Theodore Roosevelt traveled to Milwaukee, Wis., to make his case for

a return to office. Roosevelt was introduced to a wildly enthusiastic crowd of supporters and took the podium. The first sentence of his speech was uncharacteristic of the former president, "Friends, I shall ask you to be as quiet as possible." His second sentence was shocking and a bombshell: "I don't know whether you fully understand that I have just been shot."

With that, Roosevelt unbuttoned his vest to reveal his bloodstained shirt to the gasping crowd. "It takes more than that to kill a bull moose," Roosevelt reassured the audience.

The shooting of Theodore Roosevelt had occurred just after 8 p.m. as Roosevelt stepped into his car outside the Gilpatrick Hotel. As he stood up in the open-air auto, he doffed his hat and waved it with his right hand toward the crowd. Immediately, a muzzle flash from a Colt revolver, fired from five feet away, lit up the night. The would-be assassin was grabbed by Roosevelt's stenogra-



pher before he could fire a second shot.

Roosevelt's well-wishers morphed into a vengeful pack, beating the shooter and calling for his death. Roosevelt cried out to the mob, "Don't hurt him. Bring him here. I want to see him."

Roosevelt asked the shooter, "What did you do it for?" When the man refused to answer, the wounded

candidate said, "Oh, what's the use? Turn him over to the police."

There were no outward signs of blood, but the former President reached inside his heavy coat and felt a dime-sized hole in the right side of his chest. "He pinked me," Roosevelt told a campaign aide. He coughed into his hand three times, looking for blood and the telltale sign that he had been shot in the lung.

An attending doctor ordered the driver to go to the hospital, but after Roosevelt determined that the bullet had missed his lung, he demanded, "You get me to that

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speech.”

Roosevelt completed his entire 90-minute campaign speech. When spectators called out for him to receive medical attention, the former Rough Rider announced, “I give you my word, I do not care a rap about being shot; not a rap.” Few witnesses to the speech could disagree.

After the speech, Roosevelt went to the hospital and had X-rays taken. The bullet had lodged against his fourth rib on an upward path to his heart. The bullet had been slowed by his heavy overcoat, steel-reinforced eye-glass case and a 50-page speech tucked in his right jacket pocket.

Despite his prior meritorious service rendered in his terms as president and his unquestioned personal bravery, Theodore Roosevelt was defeated in the election. Woodrow Wilson won with 41% of the vote, followed by

Roosevelt’s 27%, Taft’s 23% and William Jennings Bryan’s 6%.

Theodore Roosevelt became many things to many people. He is respected by liberals for expanding the role of government in addressing the ills of society. Advocates of a strong military and an activist foreign policy appreciate his work in making the United States an unchallenged world leader. Any candidate who has ever handed out a brochure, knocked on a door or given a speech appreciates the day that Teddy Roosevelt gave a speech after being saved by his speech.

I can give no greater compliment to Roosevelt than to say that he knew no fear, was a man’s man and was an American. ❖

Dunn is the former Howard County Republican chairman.

We should continue to be an immigrant nation

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON — I was talking with a friend the other day about immigration. It’s one of the most divisive issues of our time, and we, too, found ourselves divided.



“Our country is full,” he quoted President Trump, who said this back in April. Let’s improve the country with the people we already have, my friend added.

I had a quote, too, and it’s one I still believe in. You’ll find it on the Statue of Liberty. “From her beacon-hand/Glows world-wide welcome,” it reads. And then, of course, “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.”

I welcome new immigrants and want this country to set aside the nationalistic appeals and racial prejudice that often accompany calls for restrictions. And I believe firmly that immigration makes us stronger as a nation and represents the best of what we stand for. This country is a defender of individual rights, a beacon of tolerance and equality, and a champion of the notion that offering opportunity to all who live here, regardless of national origin, yields the innovation and hard work that drive our economy and culture.

I could take up the rest of this commentary just listing the immigrants who have enriched the United States, from Levi Strauss, Irving Berlin, and Albert Einstein to Liz Claiborne, Gloria Estafan, Yo-Yo Ma, and Patrick Ew-

ing. But it’s not just names you’d recognize. I have a clear memory from my time in Washington, D.C., of watching people who’d immigrated literally build the city, its stormwater system, its metro lines, the refurbished Union Station. The same is true in any big city you care to visit in this country – and in our fields and orchards, our hotels and hospitals, our factories, our schools, our startups, our military forces, our movie studios. You get the idea.

Now, I agree that we can’t let everyone into the U.S. who wants to come. We simply don’t have the resources. But that’s a far cry from saying that we’re full, or that we’re facing an immigrant “invasion,” or that large numbers of immigrants are “stealing” jobs from Americans. There’s very little evidence to support any of those claims.

Instead, I’d argue that immigration is an opportunity for the country. One of the first votes I cast in Congress was for the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which prohibited discrimination against immigrants on the basis of their nationality. Instead, it gave preference to professionals, people with skills the country needed, and relatives of U.S. citizens and legal permanent residents.

That same principle is valid today. We have to use immigration to meet our needs, especially in the labor market. Every month for the last year and a half, the U.S. economy has had more job openings than people looking for work. And in a twist from what you’d expect, it’s not the higher-end jobs that face the most acute shortages. It’s health care, hotel, and restaurant workers who are in the highest demand. In an array of categories, from retail to food processing to landscaping, we don’t have the low-skilled laborers we need. The need for scientists, researchers, computer programmers and other knowledge workers hasn’t abated, either. And nor has the need for workers with skills that won’t soon be replaced by automation.

There was a time when both political parties in

this country largely supported immigration. Not unanimously, of course, but they favored immigration in the national interest. I don't know if those days are over for good; I hope not. Because there is simply no question that this country has been made stronger by its immigrants, and there is no reason to think that will change.

So while I'm not arguing that we should throw open our doors to all comers, we should lean toward openness, recognizing that we have limits and constraints that demand building immigration policy around a principle. And what should that be? That immigration is a

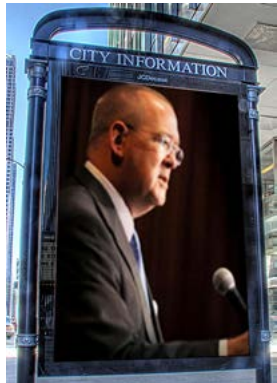
powerful tool for meeting our needs, strengthening our labor markets, bolstering our pool of talent, and remaining a beacon to those everywhere who believe that their own hard work, creativity, and entrepreneurial spirit can build their own lives and contribute to the communities around them. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.

Automation risk, trade risk, and U.S. policy

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE — The debate on trade and automation was on prime display during the Democratic presidential debate this week. There is a lot packed into this discussion, from trade policy and taxation of capital to the role of place-based economic development efforts and the design of pre-K, high school and college curriculum. My colleagues and I at Ball State have written widely on these issues, and I am familiar with the technical details that underlie this debate. It isn't going away, so it is good to focus on facts and risks, not hunches and soundbites.



Over the past 50 years, the U.S. has been a job-creation machine, adding some 82 million jobs. Of this job growth, 88 million, or about 107%, have been jobs outside of factories. Yes, I did the math right. We have 6 million fewer factory jobs since 1969.

The biggest loss of jobs happened from about 2007 to the end of the Great Recession. That was a time of rapid new imports from China, and it was also a time when factories were experiencing significant productivity growth. Both of these factors shifted the need for workers in U.S. factories, leading to large job losses.

Productivity growth, rather than imports, were the direct cause of most of these job losses. However, a significant share of the productivity growth can surely be attributed to factories responding to the threat of losing market share to China and other foreign competitors. In this case, the threat of imports accelerated productivity gains that would have come anyway, but at a more gradual and measured pace.

The change in productivity had many sources.

Some of it was automation and robotics directly. One recent paper that Sen. Warren referred to claims that automation alone was responsible for about half the job losses that were claimed by trade. But, other factors made our factories more productive. Most importantly, workers got better. By 2007, half of all factory workers in the U.S. had been to college or had an associate's degree. Given the modest hiring in factories over the last decade, that means nearly all the net job growth in factories nationwide went to those with more than a high school diploma.

Factories adopted technology in the 1990s and 2000s, which allowed them to re-organize production. Computer technologies reduced warehouse space, and digitized inventories made factories leaner. The adoption of statistical process controls caught costly production mistakes early, saving time, money and people.

Robots and robot-like equipment also boosted productivity, even if the burst of new purchases don't appear in the manufacturing investment data. The reason for this is that a robot is really a regular old machine with a new brain. The new brain involves sensors and a computer that are, in reality, quite cheap. What makes them expensive is the software, or artificial intelligence, that operates them. It costs little to replace the brawn of a Homo Sapiens, but even the simplest learning of tasks is very costly. Artificial Intelligence is just software that permits a machine to learn a new task, using some forms of sensors or perhaps a person guiding them through a process with a game controller.

Artificial intelligence and robotics will scarcely appear in the investment data of a company. It's usually just outsourcing of some new service, like software maintenance. One study even found a large number of factory job losses over the past decade were due to companies changing their industrial codes from manufacturing to services. I think this is an example of that phenomenon.

The debate about the share of jobs lost to trade or technology won't go away, but mostly that is because it offers convenient political rhetoric and the falsehood of a quick remedy. The current trade war is a failed policy fiasco, as would be an extension of it by a Democratic president. I know it's unpopular to say, but the badness of

a policy is indifferent to the political affiliation of its supporters.

Still, we should focus on automation, even if we had a way to reverse trade with China. That is simply that the China Shock (as it has been termed) is a one-time event. There are no more billion-person economies waiting around to trade with us. The future risk is that of automation and the disruptions it causes.

Increased productivity growth and automation will create more jobs than it destroys, but the new jobs will be in different places, and require different skills than the old jobs. We could do some things to help keep more jobs in struggling places, and perhaps we should. But, the biggest risk of automation accrues to the least-educated workers. Their jobs are inherently easier to automate, and they are less likely to possess the skills to retrain, or do other work.

Higher automation risk requires workers have better educational foundation. That means more investment in early education, pre-K through perhaps third grade. It

means stronger math and literacy skills in middle school and more academic focus in high schools. It also means more students should be attending, and then more graduating, from colleges.

Education in fundamentals is about the only way to insulate individual workers from automation risk. But, against this backdrop, Indiana has eased graduation requirements, and cut the share of GDP spent on both K-12 and higher education. We have seen a major drop in the number and share of students pursuing a four-year degree, and all our major universities now have fewer in-state students than we did a decade ago, despite a growth in high school graduates. Indiana is the single most at-risk state for automation-related job losses, and we are busy making it worse. ❖

Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball

Influencing our future

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — Do you linger over your morning coffee wondering how to do something meaningful? While the commercials are on TV during your favorite program, do you ponder the current condition of your county, our state and nation? Then listen up! You can make a difference within the next two weeks.



VOTE in the Nov. 5 election, either in person, at an early-voting station, or by mail-in ballot. Vote for local officials who show some energy in their campaigns. We'll need that energy in the coming months of 2020.

Your community/county should have a vigorous Complete Count Committee for the 2020 Census. Local effort to encourage participation in the census is one important means of protecting our constitutional rights and our self-interest. Every Indiana resident must be counted.

Why? The number of persons recorded in our communities statewide will determine our representation in U.S. House of Representatives in the 117th Congress. Right now, we have nine representatives. It could go down again, as it has four times in the last 100 years.

The number of persons recorded in your county, city, town, neighborhood will determine the balance of power in the state legislature and in your local councils of government.

Although Indiana was estimated to have gained over 208,000 persons between the 2010 Census and 2018 Survey, our increase of 3.2% was well below the national average of 6.3%. In 2010, Indiana had 2.19% of the U.S. population, a figure which dropped to 2.13% in 2018. That seems like a trivial decline, but it was the 10th greatest loss of "market share" among the 50 states.

While Indiana does not seem to be on the very cusp of losing a representative, our neighbors Illinois and Ohio may not be as fortunate.

Within Indiana, over 50% of the population gain from 2010-18 was in just two counties, Hamilton and Marion. Add in Boone, Hendricks, Johnson and Hancock and you have more than three-quarters of the population growth in the Hoosier Holyland this decade.

The number of state representatives and senators will remain the same in the General Assembly, but the dominance of the Indianapolis Metro area will increase. Power will continue to shift toward Central Indiana. Therefore, counties in other parts of the state have a major incentive to have every resident, legal or illegal, counted.

Not only will the 2020 Census influence political power, but it will have a strong bearing on the distribution of money allocated by the General Assembly. The 58 counties estimated to have lost population between 2010 and 2018, in particular, need to push for a complete count.

Every resident counts. Every resident needs to be counted. Every voter needs to elect officials who are ready to press for a complete count. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com. Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available or at mortonjohn.libsyn.com

Mixed messages on marijuana reform

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

CARMEL — Police stop a driver westbound on 96th Street in Hamilton County. They find less than an ounce of marijuana and this driver is arrested, complete with a stay in the county jail, facing thousands of dollars of legal bills, court costs, fines and a criminal record.



Police stop an eastbound driver on 96th Street in Marion County. They find a doobie on the console. He is not arrested, faces no charges, legal bills, court costs or fines.

That is the evolving state of marijuana prohibition in Indiana. It's like swiss cheese, with a big hole in the middle and others likely to form in college and border cities.

Acting prosecutor Marion County Ryan Mears, then an unelected official, abruptly announced that his office will no longer prosecute marijuana possession cases of under one ounce, which was quickly reinforced by Sheriff Kerry Forestal. Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Chief Bryan Roach said his force would still make marijuana arrests. But after Mears dismissed nearly 150 possession cases, it's only a matter of time before the arrests stop. The cops I know aren't big fans of doing the paperwork, only to watch an offender go free.

Gov. Eric Holcomb has vividly signaled he will ardently protect marijuana prohibition in the Hoosier state while its neighbors on three sides legalize recreational marijuana.

In my July interview with Holcomb, he made it clear he wouldn't consider medicinal legalization without more research, even though the original federal scheduling of marijuana in the same class with heroin in the 1930s wasn't based on credible medical studies at all. In fact, it was opposed then by the American Medical Association.

The natural compromise position, decriminalization, brought this response from Holcomb: "I've not been persuaded by that argument that by decriminalizing it will make the overarching public problem go away. I think we're sending a mixed message."

So are county prosecutors and sheriffs.

It isn't just in Indianapolis. Vigo County Sheriff John Plasse told the Terre Haute Tribune-Star last summer that, faced with recreational weed next door in Illinois, possession cases would likely result in a ticket. With recreational pot just months away in Michigan and Illinois and, perhaps, Ohio, this could easily be where Carroll Street in Hammond meets 157th St., in Chicago, or either side of Stateline Road in Elkhart County.

And it isn't just local authorities having second

thoughts. In 2012, Indiana State Police Superintendent Paul Whitesell told the State Budget Committee, "It's here, it's going to stay, there's an awful lot of victimization that goes with it. If it were up to me, I do believe I would legalize it and tax it, particularly in sight of the fact that several other states have now come to that part of their legal system as well."

What we don't know are the array of costs associated with prohibition: interdiction, prosecution, incarceration, public defenders, and probation. We don't know what the economic impact of the black market is and the lack of taxation, nor do we know how having 100,000 Hoosiers each decade with criminal records affects the labor force.

Democratic gubernatorial candidate Dr. Woody Myers told me in August, "The state does need to explore legalization for medical purposes and decriminalization, making it far less an onerous crime than it is today." The two other Democrats in the race, State Sen. Eddie Melton of Gary and Josh Owens of Indianapolis, favor legalization.

So now the state is setting up the way alcohol prohibition is treated in Kentucky where there are dry and wet counties. We now have bud and cuff counties.

The irony here is that the day the unelected Mears announced his decision, a General Assembly study committee on jail overcrowding was having its first hearing in French Lick. The Columbus Republic reported that while the overall U.S. prison population fell in 2017, Indiana became the first state in the previous 15 years to see its jail population shoot up 32% or more over a two-year period (2016-17), according to the Vera Institute.

While more than 30 states have legalized marijuana in some form, Indiana is actually ratcheting up prosecutions. According to the FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program, marijuana possession arrests increased from 7,431 in 2014, to 7,802 in 2015 and 8,953 in 2016. The total arrests for sales and possession increased from 8,691 in 2014 to 10,143 in 2016.

There is growing support for marijuana reform. The Howey Politics Indiana/WTHR-TV poll in October 2016 found 73% backing medicinal marijuana, including a majority of Republicans. A CBS News poll in April found 65% backing legal marijuana, including 56% of Republicans.

I asked Holcomb on Monday what his reaction was to the Marion County prosecution decision. "Obviously, marijuana is illegal in the State of Indiana. It is today and it was when this decision by a county prosecutor was made," Holcomb said. "I have some concerns about the message it sends, understanding, of course, it's within the authority of a county prosecutor, whatever county they come from, to decide on the level of punishment."

As for political ramifications, Mears made this decision when he was acting prosecutor following the resignation of Terry Curry. The day after he dropped charges on possession cases, he was elected by caucus to take the job full time.

Mixed messages? On marijuana, Indiana is doing just that. ❖

Rep. Cummings knew his time was precious

By **KELLY HAWES**

ANDERSON — Elijah Cummings was well aware his time on this earth would be limited.

On the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives soon after taking the oath of office in April 1996, he quoted a poem by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, a Baptist minister and civil rights leader who died in 1984.



"I've only just a minute," the poem reads. "Only sixty seconds in it. Forced upon me, can't refuse it. Didn't seek it, didn't choose it, but it's up to me to use it. I must suffer if I lose it, give an account if I abuse it. Just a tiny little minute, but eternity is in it."

Cummings did not waste the time he had. He was 11 when he was attacked by a white mob while trying to integrate a Baltimore swimming

pool. He carried a scar on his face for the rest of his life.

He would not tolerate injustice. Witness an exchange with Kevin McAleenan, the acting secretary of Homeland Security, during a hearing in July. McAleenan insisted his agency was doing its best to care for migrant children separated from their parents at our southern border.

"What does that mean when a child is sitting in their own feces, can't take a shower?" Cummings demanded. "Come on, man! None of us would have our children in that position."

The Maryland Democrat had friends in both parties. Among them was U.S. Rep. Mark Meadows, a Republican from North Carolina.

"There was no stronger advocate and no better friend than Elijah Cummings," Meadows tweeted on learning of Cummings' death. "I am heartbroken for his wonderful family and staff; please pray for them. I will miss him dearly."

In that initial speech before Congress, Cummings spoke of the importance of bipartisanship.

"I've often said ... that our world would be a much

better world, and a much better place, if we would only concentrate on the things we have in common, instead of concentrating on our differences," he said. "It's easy to find differences, very easy. We need to take more time to find common ground."

Though he didn't support Donald J. Trump, Cummings said early on he had a duty to work with the new president.

"He is going to be my president and your president for the next four years at least," Cummings said.

As chairman of the House Oversight Committee, Cummings had been overseeing various investigations involving the president.

"I'm begging the American people to pay attention to what is going on," he tweeted in July. "Because if you want to have a democracy intact for your children, and your children's children, and generations yet unborn, we've got to guard this moment. This is our watch."

When the president suggested the congressman ought to spend more time worrying about his rat-infested district, Cummings fired back.

"Mr. President, I go home to my district daily," he tweeted. "Each morning, I wake up, and I go and fight for my neighbors. It is my constitutional duty to conduct oversight of the Executive Branch. But, it is my moral duty to fight for my constituents."

In February, Cummings presided over a hearing featuring testimony from the president's fixer, Michael Cohen.

"When we're dancing with the angels," Cum-

mings said as the hearing wrapped up, "the question will be asked: In 2019, what did we do to make sure we kept our democracy intact? Did we stand on the sidelines and say nothing? Did we play games?"

Cummings closed that hearing with a simple statement.

"We have got to get back to normal," he said.

Indeed, we do.



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ana. He can be reached at kelly.hawes@indianamediagroup.com. Find him on Twitter @Kelly_Hawes.

Frank Bruni, New York Times: If I dreamed up an ideal Democratic opponent for President Trump in 2020, I'd locate that candidate in the industrial Midwest. That's where Hillary Clinton lost the last election, and it's where the next one could very well be decided. I'd summon someone relatively young. Elections are usually about the future, and the last two Democrats to ascend to the White House were under 50 when they began their first terms. Plus, the contrast with President Trump, who's 73, would be a favorable one. I'd want someone who could lay claim to being a trailblazer and reap some of the excitement that comes from that; someone who couldn't be tarred as a Washington insider; someone who was effortlessly fluent in, and respectful of, religion without buying into the divisively censorious strains of it; someone whose message and style weren't instantly familiar facsimiles of previously successful candidates; someone who radiated the kind of thoughtfulness that's foreign to Trump. Only one of the Democratic presidential aspirants who have gained discernible traction, raised real money and taken up seemingly permanent residence in the field's Top 5 meets all of the above criteria: Pete Buttigieg, the openly gay mayor of South Bend, Ind. But I have the damndest time imagining him in the White House in 2021, and that's depressing the hell out of me. He's phenomenally talented. None of his fellow contenders for the nomination speaks off the cuff in such gorgeously composed paragraphs (though Cory Booker, Michael Bennet and Marianne Williamson have their moments). He routinely steers clear of extremes — on health care, on guns, on environmental issues — not because he lacks conviction or courage, at least not from where I'm sitting, but because extremes aren't where the most progress is usually made or where healing is likeliest to happen. He's a champion of the sensible. In that way, he seems much older than his age. ❖



candidate rewarded intense listening. Hillary Clinton offered predictable bromides and Bernie Sanders has a passion for yelling. But this time around, Pete Buttigieg, the 37-year-old gay mayor of a small Indiana city (South Bend) half the size of Des Moines, is acing the listening test. His words, even in a stump speech, tend to be more thoughtful and more surprising than the standard political applause lines of his rivals. Elizabeth Warren often elicits cheers, Joe Biden gets the occasional affectionate chuckle, but Buttigieg summons up a different reaction. I first noticed it while seeing him at a Des Moines house party on a sparkling Saturday morning in June. As with Obama in 2006, members of the audience leaned forward to listen to Buttigieg speak rather than sitting back to applaud politely. What struck me at the time was that Buttigieg was pulling off this listening trick even though he lacked the national political profile that Obama boasted back in 2006, from his electrifying speech to the 2004 Democratic convention. I looked for a repeat of this response when Buttigieg spoke at the sprawling Polk County Steak Fry in September. "If everything is going well in this country, a guy like Donald Trump never is able to take over a political party, let alone get within cheating distance of the Oval Office," Buttigieg declared. Yes, Buttigieg got a laugh with the phrase "cheating distance of the Oval Office." But as I panned the crowd, I once again saw an atypical level of attentiveness. In the klatch of voters watching from their lawn chairs, a woman in a blue windbreaker, maybe in her late twenties, sat ramrod straight, the phone tightly gripped in her hand forgotten for the moment. A guy with glasses and greying light brown hair strained to catch every word as if he were listening to the reading of his favorite aunt's will. Four months before the Iowa caucuses, it is time to reckon with the reality that Buttigieg probably has a better chance to be the Democratic nominee than anyone aside from Biden and the surging Warren. ❖

Walter Shapiro, New Republic: Before Pete Buttigieg was born in 1982, the now-shuttered brokerage house, E.F. Hutton, began running a famous series of TV commercials touting their ability to predict the fluctuations in the stock market. In one emblematic spot, the mere mention of the firm's name in a posh restaurant prompts everyone, including the waiters, to eavesdrop for investment tips. The tag line from the ad campaign: "When E.F. Hutton talks, people listen." Watching the way that people listen to a presidential candidate is a surprisingly good indicator of raw political talent. In September 2006, at the annual Tom Harkin Steak Fry near Des Moines, a fledgling Illinois senator named Barack Obama (not yet a presidential candidate) mesmerized 3,500 Iowa Democrats. I knew then, studying the rapt expressions on people's faces as they listened to Obama deliver his first political speech in Iowa, that 2008 would be his year. The Iowa Democrats all looked like extras from Frank Capra's movie Meet John Doe. Needless to say, in 2016, neither major Democratic

Jennifer Ruben, Washington Post: You have to give South Bend, Ind., Mayor Pete Buttigieg credit. The youngest candidate in the Democratic field, the one with no civilian experience above the position of mayor, is leading the debate on Syria and pushing one of the top-tier candidates to rethink a major strategic decision. If Buttigieg is trying to position himself as the younger, more verbally adept moderate in the Democratic race, pushing Warren around and defending an internationalist foreign policy might earn him a starring role. As he shows command of policy and of the debate stage, he is making the case for his viability in the primary. And he implicitly is demonstrating that his cool, deliberate style would be a huge asset against Trump in the general election. A candidate who can go on any talk show and run a "straight-talk express" kind of bus tour with the media is one confident in his ability to be his own best advocate. ❖

Hill's accusers detail groping

INDIANAPOLIS — Attorney General Curtis Hill's four accusers detailed how he touched them at a bar last year — using the words “creeper,” “sexual back rub” and “inappropriate” during hours of testimony in the first day of his disciplinary hearing. Meanwhile, his attorneys repeatedly described his actions as flirtatious and talked about the party atmosphere and drinking at the event (Kelly, [Fort Wayne Journal Gazette](#)). They also laid the groundwork for the argument that the women were harmed more by the leaking of a confidential memo outing the allegations than Hill's actions. Hill is accused of violating attorney conduct rules when he allegedly groped multiple women at a legislative party in 2018. His elected post is in jeopardy if the Indiana Supreme Court suspends his license because the job of attorney general requires a law license. The disciplinary hearing is scheduled for the entire week — with former Indiana Supreme Court Justice Myra Selby presiding.

Rep. Mara Candelaria Reardon, D-Munster, started the day off by testifying that Hill touched her bare back and then slid his hand down until his thumb was inside the low scoop back of her dress and grabbed her butt. She said he did so intentionally — “you don't just fall into somebody's dress” and added, “I was shocked. I was violated. I was angry. I was afraid.” Hill's attorney, James Voyles, focused on the specifics of the dress that Reardon changed into for the party — a black, backless dress that had a scoop draping down by her waist. He and another Hill attorney, Jennifer Lukemeyer, repeatedly referred to the fact that Reardon changed — pointing out others dressed down, not up. Reardon did not tell anyone but her husband about the event until a month later when she was at lunch and heard Hill inappropriately touched



other staffers. She went to leadership, which did an internal probe on the matter. Niki DaSilva sent a text at 4 a.m. after the party to a friend of hers who worked for Hill at the time and said “also your boss grabbed my butt. And touched other women and made inappropriate comments.” A fourth woman, Gabrielle McLemore Brock, testified that she didn't know Hill personally and he walked up and asked if she knew who he was. He then pulled up a bar stool and began rubbing her back for a couple minutes, she said. Brock mouthed

“help me” to her intern, who came and asked her to go to the bathroom. Brock cried in the bathroom and later outside the bar because she was so upset.

Sen. Spartz seeks corruption hotline

INDIANAPOLIS— Hoosiers aware of improper or illegal spending by local government officials soon may get a dedicated hotline to report the malfeasance for investigation by the state (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). A legislative study committee agreed Monday to continue crafting a proposal, for consideration during the 2020 General Assembly, to establish a hotline for the general public to report financial or criminal misdeeds by county, city, town, township or school leaders. Sen. Victoria Spartz, R-Noblesville, said taxpayers currently have no clear place to turn if they suspect local officials are corrupt, and a single, state-run hotline would ensure their concerns are heard and investigated. “We have so many things in the government and it's hard for people to know where things are,” Spartz said. She recommended the State Board of Accounts, which routinely audits the spending of all local governments, be put in charge of the hotline.

INDOT outlines final I-69 leg

INDIANAPOLIS — INDOT

Officials outlined the final phase of the I-69 expansion plan Monday night — in the first of three meetings around Central Indiana ([Indiana Public Media](#)). The last 26 miles of the Interstate 69 project from Martinsville to Indianapolis is scheduled to be completed by 2024. That means I-69 will be a continuous interstate between Indianapolis and Evansville. But residents of Martinsville will be affected in 2021, when five miles of State Road 37 is shut down.

Buttigieg made 2 Zuckerberg hires

WASHINGTON — Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg confirmed to CBS News on Monday that he and his wife recommended earlier this year that the presidential campaign of Pete Buttigieg hire two of their colleagues. “This shouldn't be taken as an endorsement. We have several mutual friends in college who introduced me” several years ago to the future presidential candidate, Zuckerberg said. “When a number of colleagues who I'd worked with at Facebook or my philanthropic foundation were interested in working there they asked me or my wife Priscilla to send over their resume. So I did that. I think that this probably should not be misconstrued as if I'm deeply involved in trying to support their campaign or anything like that,” Zuckerberg added.

Pentagon forms Afghan pullout plan

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon recently began drawing up plans for an abrupt withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Afghanistan in case President Donald Trump surprises military leaders by ordering an immediate drawdown as he did in Syria, three current and former defense officials said ([NBC News](#)). The contingency planning is ongoing, the officials said, and includes the possibility that Trump orders all U.S. troops out of Afghanistan within weeks.